NAACP Urges Nationwide Work Stoppage

An Editorial

A nationwide work stoppage is needed to protest the bomb-killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore and other unpunished acts of violence in Florida, the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People decided in New York on Jan. 7.

A special NAACP committee was authorized to make arrangements with leaders of the CIO, AFL, United Mine Workers and other labor, church, civic and fraternal organizations for calling such a stoppage.

The continuing terrorism in Florida, the board resolution said, "together with the failure of local, state and federal authorities to apprehend and prosecute the criminals, requires a more dramatic demonstration of the reaction of the American people than the sending of communications of protest or the holding of memorial services."

The need for such action was re-emphasized the very next day when Attorney General McGrath, meeting in Washington with NAACP Secretary Walter White and several labor and liberal leaders, rejected their request to appoint a special prosecutor and call a special grand jury in the Florida cases. All he gave them was another promise that the FBI would do its best to "find and deal with the persons responsible."

The NAACP resolution marks a big step forward in the struggle against lynch-terrorism. It testifies to a growing recognition, even in non-radical circles, that the government's promises are completely worthless and that "communications of protest or the holding of memorial services" are not enough to meet the present crisis.

Most important and encouraging of all, the NAACP proposal for arrangements to call a nationwide work stoppage puts the emphasis in the struggle against terrorism where it properly belongs — on the labor movement.

No one has a bigger stake in this struggle than the unions. The same forces that commit violence against minority groups today will commit it against strikers tomorrow. The labor movement has the power right now to crush incipient fascism in the bud — all it has to do is use that power militantly and in self-defense.

The proposal for a work stoppage will be greeted with enthusiasm by every unionist and Negro who wants to strike a blow in defense of his own liberties. It should be carried into action without delay.

ANALYSIS OF STEEL CONVENTION

(See Page 2)

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 2 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1952 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

BIG MONEY BACKS GEN. EISENHOWER

Steel Convention Flays Companies; Postpones Strike

By Harry Frankel

ATLANTIC CITY, Jan. 4 — A special steelworkers' convention today postponed for 45 days the call for a national steel strike after two days of bitter denunciation and slashing attacks upon the steel companies of the U. S.

There was no opposition (only one "no" vote) to the proposal of Philip Murray and the Executive Board of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO) that the strike, originally scheduled for New Year's Day, be postponed to give the government Wage Stabilization Board 45 days to "consider the case" of the steelworkers.

However, the dominant tone of the convention, sounded equally by the officers of the union and by the rank-and-file speakers, was a determination to win the union's pay and contract demands. Despite the fact that the sole formal action of the convention was to postpone a strike, this action was taken to the accompaniment of the most angry and militant strike talk in the history of the steel union.

Repeatedly, the great domed Atlantic City convention hall rang with "shut-em-down" talk, and echoed to the roar of the 2,500 delegates who reserved their loudest applause for the most militant speeches.

HISTORIC GATHERING

It was a historic convention for the steel union: a convention of "firsts." It was the first special convention; the first convention called to decide strike and negotiation policy; the first convention which was not occupied, 90%, by "guest" speakers; the first convention where a large part of the business time, possibly more than half, was given over to speeches from the floor by delegates.

The resolution adopted by the convention calls off the steel strike until Feb. 20 at midnight "in the light of the Soviet-inspired threat against our Nation," thus once again giving union backing to the Wall Street war drive. There was no opposition to the strike postponement, but that did not set the tone for the convention. Rather the tone was an insistent demand for the pay raise and new contract terms demanded by the union, and a determination to use any means, up to and including the strike weapon, to get those demands.

One delegate, Herman Strassforth of Cleveland's American Steel and Wire Co., sounded a note of mistrust of the Wage

(Continued on page 2)

Breitman to Run For U.S. Senator From New Jersey

NEWARK, Jan. 8 — The Socialist Workers Party announced today its nomination of George Breitman as candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey in this year's election campaign. Petitions to put Breitman's name on the ballot will be collected together with those already being circulated on behalf of Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President.

The SWP candidate will oppose the Republican incumbent, H. Alexander Smith, a fanatical supporter of Wall Street's reactionary foreign policy whose pose as a "liberal" was exposed last year when he joined up with McCarthy against the nomination of Philip Jessup as a UN delegate.

George Breitman has been an active socialist campaigner in New Jersey for many years. He was a state leader of the militant unemployed movement in the Thirties and has participated in many struggles for civil liberties and Negro rights. Last year, as candidate for the New Jersey Assembly, he stressed the demand for a state referendum on withdrawal of U. S. troops from Korea. An editor of **The Militant**, he has written a number of pamphlets on labor and civil rights.

The SWP in New Jersey still has under consideration the question of running other candidates for Congress in 1952. Decision and announcement will be made in the near future.

ENCOURAGING RESPONSE

Meanwhile, initial reports from party members who have begun the job of getting petitions for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson indicate that it is no harder to get signatures for independent candidates this year than it was in previous campaigns, despite the witch hunt.

"The main difficulty is the cold weather, which prevents work on the streets and forces us to go house to house," one red-nosed canvasser reported. "But in the houses in workers' districts the response is quite encouraging."

All those who want to help in putting the SWP candidates on the ballot in New Jersey are urged to get in touch with the SWP at its headquarters, 423 Springfield Ave., Newark.

Branches of SWP Join In Fla. Protest

Cadillac Sq. Rally Proposed in Detroit

DETROIT, Jan. 5 — The Socialist Workers Party, through Detroit chairman Howard Lerner, today issued a letter to all labor and liberal organizations proposing a broad conference to map action against the Florida bombing outrages.

Lerner's call to action urged "organization of a public protest meeting and demonstration, such as the Cadillac Square demonstration against the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947."

Warning that each unpunished crime by the race and labor-haters encourages them to commit further atrocities, Lerner pointed out: "They appear not to be hampered by nor concerned with federal and state laws. Reliance on the Democratic and Republican powers-that-be has not and will not stop these outrages.

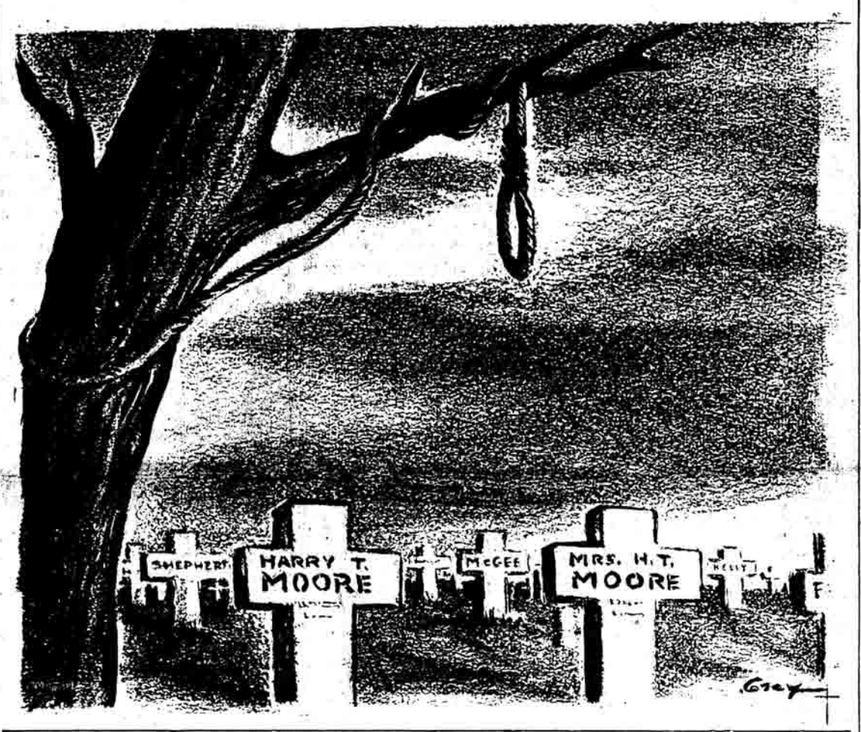
"Detroit, with its great union movement and successful tradition of struggle against similar organizations such as the Black Legion, the Coughlinites, the Ford Servicemen, can start turning the tide nationally. United mass action would not only help justice in Florida but would also aid the struggle for full civil rights and FEPC legislation."

NEWARK, Jan. 5 — "Lynch violence is designed not only to get rid of courageous leaders like Harry T. Moore, but also to terrorize the living, so that they will be afraid to continue the struggle against Jim Crow, war preparations and the other evils of capitalism," said George Breitman last night at a meeting on the Moore case held in SWP headquarters. "That is why all-out resistance to the terrorists is a necessary condition for the progress of the workers of all races."

NEW YORK, Jan. 9 — The Socialist Workers Party today announced an open air demonstration against Jim Crow terrorism in Florida for Sat. evening, Jan. 12, in Harlem at 125th St. and 7th Ave. Gladys Barker will be chairman and Michael Bartell will head the list of speakers.

FARRELL DOBBS

Victims of Another Undeclared War



Court Upholds $750,000 Taft-Hartley Act Penalty

The U.S. Supreme Court, by its Jan. 7 ruling in the case of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union vs. Juneau Spruce Corporation, gave employers a green light to proceed with crippling "damage suits" against the unions under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Using a jurisdictional dispute between the ILWU and the International Woodworkers of America as a pretext, the lumber corporation sued the union under the "unfair labor practices" provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Court upheld this union-busting provision and ordered the ILWU to pay the corporation $750,000 in "damages."

The Taft-Hartley provision prohibits all attempts to compel employers to "assign particular work to employees in a particular labor organization" rather than employees in another labor organization.

This enables employers to resist union organization or jurisdiction over certain types of work by claiming "another union" already has it. It encourages them to sign "sweetheart" agreements with racketeering or company union leaders as a means of fighting legitimate labor organization. And it hands them a deadly weapon, in the form of suits for staggering "damage" claims, that can be used to wreck many unions which dare to strike in support of their jurisdictional rights.

Entirely aside from the merits of this particular union jurisdictional dispute, therefore, the Supreme Court decision is a blow at the whole labor movement. Damage suits amounting to tens of millions of dollars are already pending against several AFL unions, and the Supreme Court decision will undoubtedly produce a great many more.

The AFL and CIO leaders, who promised they would not rest until the Taft-Hartley Act was wiped off the books, foreswore militant action and relied instead on the Supreme Court and the Truman administration to achieve their ends.

The bankruptcy of their policy is proved over and over again. The Supreme Court approves one section of the Taft-Hartley Act after another, beginning with the "non-communist" oath and ending with the latest decision (which was unanimous and was written by Justice Douglas, the favorite presidential choice of the liberals). And Truman has completely dropped his promise to seek repeal of the Act, substituting a plea for it to be "modified," something that Taft himself does not oppose.

Both Major Parties Conspire To Keep Vital Issue of War Out of Election Campaign

By Art Preis

The Big Money and its Big Press have announced their choice of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, life-long professional militarist, as the man they prefer for Republican presidential candidate. Their decision to back Eisenhower, in preference to Taft, is based on the dominant issue of war.

"The 'president-makers' of the Republican Party have chosen Eisenhower because he is firmly committed to Wall Street's war policy and has been working on its preparation by rearming Western Europe and constructing U.S. bases there," stated Farrell Dobbs, the 1948 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and its likely choice to head this year's ticket, in a press statement on Jan. 8.

THE MAIN ISSUE

That the war issue is decisive and conclusive is frankly admitted by the **N. Y. Times**, a mouthpiece of the House of Morgan. The **Times** declared editorially on Jan. 7 its "enthusiastic" support of Eisenhower if he should be nominated by the Republicans.

In three out of five of the last presidential elections it supported the Democrats, the Times said, "essentially because we were reluctant to trust the Republican party on issues of foreign policy and because we believed these issues to be the decisive issues of the campaign, towering high above all domestic issues. . ."

By running Eisenhower, Big Business hopes to eliminate this "towering" issue from the election debate. If Eisenhower is nominated by the Republican convention next July, it will mean, in effect, that foreign policy will be stricken from the list of campaign issues. Eisenhower tells us he intends to keep his mouth shut on everything; while Truman pointedly emphasized in his State of the Union Message on Jan. 10 that "we can find plenty of things to differ about without . . . abandoning our bipartisan foreign policy. . ."

Agreeing that foreign policy — the life-and-death issue of war or peace — is the decisive issue, Farrell Dobbs emphatically dissented from the "bi-partisan" view that it should not be discussed. On the contrary, he indicated that, if nominated by the SWP, he would make this the central point of his campaign. The SWP, he said, would use every means in its power to smash the conspiracy of silence on the crucial war issue.

EISENHOWER

"The dominant section of the capitalist class has swung over to Eisenhower because it does not want the bi-partisan war program called into question in any possible way, shape or form in the coming presidential campaign," Dobbs said. "Taft is not considered completely safe on this question. He has an isolationist past and although he has renounced it he has made some statements along with Herbert Hoover which betray a difference on the global strategy for U.S. imperialism in World War III. The Big Money fears that Taft might be tempted in a hard fought election campaign to demagogically raise the war issue. It is felt that Eisenhower is 100 per cent safe on this crucial question."

As an added virtue in the eyes of his powerful financial and industrial backers, Eisenhower is also considered "100 per cent safe" on domestic issues. Dorothy

(Continued on page 2)

Dobbs Asks 25 Groups to Combat Lynch-Violence

NEW YORK, Jan. 8 — Twenty-five of the largest labor, minority group, fraternal, civic and church organizations were today urged by Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, to make plans for national and local mass demonstrations against the racist violence that reached its climax in the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida.

The 25 organizations have already united as a steering committee for a civil rights mobilization against Senate filibustering rules that is scheduled to be held in Washington on Feb. 17-18. The next meeting of the steering committee will be held in Washington on Jan. 11.

Dobbs appealed to the steering committee to broaden the plans for the February gathering and to arrange for a mass march to Washington simultaneously with local demonstrations. He also asked it to consider the formation of defense guards to protect the lives, homes and meeting places which are threatened by Ku Klux violence.

The organizations represented on the steering committee include: American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, National Alliance of Postal Employees.

Also the NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Committee, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly, National Baptist Convention, Inc., Americans for Democratic Action, American Veterans Committee, American Jewish Congress, National Bar Association, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Jewish Labor Committee, National Community Relations Advisory Council, National Newspaper Publishers Association, Methodist Federation, and the Anti-Defamation League.

The full text of Dobbs' letter, which was also sent to the NAACP, follows:

Dear Sirs:

On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I strongly urge you, as steering committee of the civil rights assembly called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for Washington on Feb. 17-18, to transform the character of this gathering into a mass mobilization that will express the determination of the American people to halt the growing racist terrorism that has already taken the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore.

Such a change in your plans is dictated by the crisis that has arisen since the national labor, fraternal, church, civic and minority groups you represent originally decided to hold a conference to promote revision of the Senate rules that make it easy to filibuster civil rights legislation to death in Washington.

The NAACP, in a letter to President Truman made public on Jan. 3, amply indicated the nature of this crisis. In that letter, Arthur B. Spingarn, president, and Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the board of directors, correctly stated:

"No man or group of any kind, complexion or size in our nation may proceed with safety on the business of democratic living if bombs, and terror, and murder in the night are to be permitted to supplant the Constitution and the laws of free America. No labor union is secure. No religious body has an asylum. No racial group is safe. No person who hates prejudice and bigotry and seeks to wipe it out by lawful means is safe from intimidation and death."

This country is confronted by a "spreading new pattern of terror by bombing," we were warned on Jan. 5 by Alex Miller, Southern director of the Anti-Defamation League in Atlanta. "The next outbreak could come in the North or South. This is not something out of a crystal ball, it is sober recognition of a trend that could be dangerous unless something is done."

It is a trend that has already become dangerous. The letter by Mr. Spingarn and Dr. Wright asked President Truman "to invoke all the powers of the federal government to the end that Harry T. Moore may vindicate in death those principles and practices he sought in life." Thousands of such requests have been sent to the White House

(Continued on Page 2)

Steel Convention Highlights

One top U.S. Steel negotiator was the particular target of just about every second speaker at the special Jan. 3-4 convention of the CIO Steelworkers Union in Atlantic City. Conrad Cooper, "efficiency" man handling speedup plans for the company, was bitterly castigated as having "ice-water instead of blood," and for thinking no more of the men in the mills than he does of "dirt under his feet." District Director Paul Rusen reminisced bitterly about the time he faced Cooper in negotiations years back, and told the laughing delegates: "That man Conrad Cooper will have more trouble getting through the gates of hell on account of his horns than he will have getting through the portals of heaven on account of his wings."

* * *

Southern labor was well represented by George Elliot, of Red Mt., near Birmingham, Alabama, an ore miner. Elliot started out mad and finished off madder. "We talk about what a great America we have, but what made it great? The union! The union made it great, not these bloodsucking, pig-headed parasites they've got down there in Washington," he shouted. "The union," he went on, "that's what brought us up from the depths of despair! That's what put clothes on our kids and sent them to school and brought 'em out from behind the schoolhouse where they used to eat their lunch, they were that ashamed of it." Murray asked Elliot to watch his language, but he had trouble restraining himself. "I get so goddam mad," he choked. However, he made an effort. The next time the feeling came over him, he raised a big fist and brought it down on the rostrum: "I don't give," he thundered, "a tinker's malediction!" Elliot's language didn't seem to bother the delegates. They didn't want to let him stop speaking.

* * *

Although the beginnings of a new, critical and independent spirit towards the bureaucracy of the union was in evidence at this convention, much of the old, lick-spittle spirit remained. There were some fawning machine-supporters who fell all over themselves getting to the microphone to assure the convention in advance that they were ready "to vote for President Murray's proposal, no matter what it is."

Convention seating arrangements were typically steel union. All delegates were seated auditorium-style, in rows of chairs facing the platform, instead of convention-style, grouped around tables by delegations. Some day the steel workers will insist upon proper convention arrangements for a working convention, and will compel Murray to heed that demand.

* * *

Towards the end of the convention, Murray made a sudden departure from the issues under consideration and discussed the regular International Convention of the union coming in May. He urged all the delegates to try to attend, promising that "great work" will be done to "bring this organization closer to you." Then, with a sudden show of heat, Murray launched into an unexplained tirade: "There will be no dictatorships in this union," he shouted. "No connivances, no bribery — no money used out of the treasury to buy the friendship of anyone." This is peculiar, to say the least, in view of Murray's own well known methods of operating the union, which require strict personal loyalty from all who accept salaries from the International Union. It was generally understood, however, that Murray's remarks are connected with the scramble which has been going on at the top of the union to get first place in the succession to Murray, a scramble that has been intensified by his recent illness.

* * *

It was pointed out in support of the union's demands that, while U.S. Steel profits have increased 551% since 1945, average hourly earnings of U. S. Steel workers have gone up only 56.8% in that same period, or about one-tenth as much. Wages of all U. S. Steel workers were 49.7% of the company's costs in 1945, but were only 47% of company budget in 1951, a drop of 2.7%.

* * *

William Morgan, of the McKeesport National Tube plant, expressed the dilemma of the whole union bureaucracy when he said: "For every communist we chase out of this union of ours, these companies make ten more."

Behind the Steel Crisis

By M. Stein

The first question which comes to mind in connection with the special steel workers convention held in Atlantic City January 3 and 4 is what urgency impelled the officials to call such a gathering when the union's regular convention is only four months off.

The official answer to this question, given by union president Philip Murray, was something as follows: The union agreement with the industry expired at the end of 1951. But the steel companies flatly refused to negotiate a new agreement. In the conferences held they rejected the union dmands but would make no offer of their own. Faced with the arrogant refusal of the steel industry to bargain collectively, there was only one course open to the union — to strike the industry. The strike date was thus set for the first of January, to be followed by a special convention on the third.

In the meantime, Murray told the convention, Truman had sent him a letter requesting that the strike be postponed to permit the Wage Stabilization Board to consider the union demands, thus avoiding any stoppage of steel production so crucially needed for armament. He was prepared to do his patriotic duty and, as a matter of fact, had cancelled the original strike date. It was up to the convention, however, to democratically make the final decision: To strike or accede to the President's request for postponement of strike and referral of the situation to the Wage Stabilization Board.

RAISES QUESTIONS

The trouble with this explanation is that it raises more questions than it answers. For example, why Murray's sudden conversion to such a democratic process as a special convention if all that were involved was the question of strike or strike postponement? The Steelworkers Union had been faced with similar emergencies in 1946 and 1949. In both those instances, Murray and the Executive Board, together with the Wage Policy Committee, took it upon themselves to carry on the negotiations. When negotiations failed they referred the dispute to the government boards and when the decisions of these boards were rejected by the companies, they made the decision to strike. They did not call special conventions to decide on the strategy or the tactics to be followed in the union's relations with the steel companies. They took it upon themselves to act in the name of the union.

There is nothing in the constitution of the union to compel the union bureaucracy to call a special convention in such emergencies.

Philip Murray's decision to consult the ranks through the medium of a special convention four months prior to a regular convention obviously has another explanation. That explanation can be found only in the serious crisis the union is facing. The powerful U.S. Steel Corporation and its satellite companies which comprise the gigantic steel empire in this country have never become reconciled to the idea of collective bargaining. Every concession since the end of World War II had to be wrested from the industry by bitter struggle. These agreements represented only a temporary truce in a continuous cold war waged day in and day out by the company against the union. This cold war often breaks out into hot strikes in one steel center after another.

Local after local of the union has recently been compelled to strike against company contract violations in order to survive.

This first special convention in the 16-year history of the union indicates the acuteness the conflict with the steel monopolists has reached. It explains also the nature of the convention. It had little resemblance to ordinary run of the mill trade union conventions which are usually a sounding board for the union officials, big brass and politicians, who bore the delegates with their stereotyped speeches against the class struggle to which is counterposed the identity of interests between capital and labor.

This special convention was devoted in its entirety to a discussion of the fate of the union whose very existence is challenged by the steel magnates. The speakers were mostly rank and file delegates to whom the survival of the union is a life and death question. The only outside speaker invited to this special convention was one who cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be classified as a "friend of labor." Benjamin Fairless, president of the U.S. Steel Corporation, the steelworkers' outstanding adversary, was asked to state his case to the convention. Mr. Fairless declined the invitation. In a telegram to Murray he said that he did not believe he would get receptive hearing. Anybody who observed the temper of the delegates would quickly agree with him.

EXPLOSIVE ANGER

The explosive anger of the delegates against the steel companies was the dominant feature of the convention. The Wall Street Journal, reporting the convention, remarks: "Seldom has anger and sharp attack against industry flashed so frequently at a steel workers' meeting."

This angry mood was not confined to any particular group. Top leaders and rank and file delegates felt alike. Here is what the **Wall Street Journal** says on this score: "Reporters who have seen Murray in action during most of all of the nearly sixteen years since he and John L. Lewis set out to organize the steel industry agreed they have probably never seen him more wrought up." It adds: "Delegates who took the floor at the closing session of the convention were more vehement even than Mr. Murray. A good deal of their language was not of Sunday School caliber."

MURRAY STRATEGY

Most likely Murray called the special convention because he knew that Truman would intervene against a strike once the deadline approached. In the event a strike could not be avoided he wanted to place upon the convention the responsibility for calling it off. It didn't work out that way because Truman would not tolerate even a 3-day strike. Murray bowed to Truman's pressure and cancelled the strike. Under the circumstances, the convention became for Murray a substitute for strike action to serve as a form of pressure against the companies and the WSB. But this also is only part of the explanation. The convention was much more than a "clever" bureaucratic stratagem.

To have a fuller appreciation of the situation in steel, it is necessary to understand the profound causes of the convention's wrath. Such a gigantic spectacle could never be staged even by professional actors with expert direction. It is the genuineness of the steelworkers' anger that made such a deep impression. It expressed beyond all doubt their innermost feelings. Its cause was their real concern for the preservation of the union to which they are profoundly devoted. The steelworkers are in mortal fear that the companies are out to smash their union. One convention speaker after another kept repeating: "The company is out to smash us."

FIGHT FOR UNION

Those responsible for relations with the company on a plant level as well as the top officials negotiating on a company level told the same story. The steel companies are fighting for a return to the pre-union days — to the days of the Pinkertons. One of Murray's aims was therefore to turn to the ranks through the medium of the convention. He is not sure the Wage Stabilization Board can give him an agreement. Even though he remains loyal to President Truman, even though he protests his super-patriotism, he knows that in the event of a strike he must mobilize the ranks for a showdown fight if the union is to survive.

In the discussion of Truman's request for a postponement of the strike, there seems to have been a tacit understanding not to expose Truman's hypocrisy. The officers especially seemed to have been anxious to emphasize that this was nothing but a request and to cover up the fact that behind this request lurked the threat of the Taft-Hartley Law or of government plant seizure.

RICH EXPERIENCE

The coal miners and the railroad workers have had their rich experience with the President and his role in strikes. The steel workers know this only too well. Yet, with the exception of one delegate, no one mentioned the Taft-Hartley Law. None of them spoke of government seizure.

The unspoken agreement not to mention the strikebreaking role of the government had an obviously different meaning for Philip Murray than it had for the rank and file delegates. Murray is concerned primarily with whitewashing Truman and presenting him as a friend of labor, especially in this crucial election year. He was anxious to accede to Truman's request for a postponement of a strike in order not to embarrass the President into invoking the strikebreaking measures he used against the miners and the railroad workers.

REMEMBER THE PAST

But the rank and file convention delegates, while wildly applauding every denunciation of the Washington politicians as pig-headed parasites, refrained nevertheless from dealing with the brutal reality of government strikebreaking. One gained the impression they felt that the steel companies are a formidable enough opponent. They hoped secretly that by passing the government's role in silence and going through the Wage Stabilization Board they could perhaps "neutralize" the government so that they could grapple with the companies and not bring the wrath of Washington down upon them at the same time. The steel workers remember that in 1946 and 1949 it was the steel companies who turned down the awards made by government agencies and that the union struck in support of the government proposals, so to speak. If forced to strike again they felt their position would be strengthened by striking under cover of enforcing a government settlement.

The danger of this sort of reasoning is self-evident and was mentioned by some of the delegates. The workers know from past experience that the government agencies whittle down the union demands and that the union had been forced to strike for only petty gains. That is why some delegates demanded that if the Wage Stabilization Board brought in recommendations not in accord with the union demands that the strike occur not on the basis of WSB award, but for the original union demands.

UNEASY TRUCE

However, not even those who spoke in this vein really believed that the union officials will follow such a course. This too they know from past experience. If there is a steel strike at the expiration of the 45-day postponement voted by the convention, it will take place only if the steel magnates reject the decisions of the WSB or if the Board disregards completely the workers' grievances — which is unlikely. But what is most important is that even if there is a compromise settlement and no strike at this time, it will at best be only an uneasy temporary truce.

A showdown fight in steel is pending. This is clear from the labor record of the steel corporations. It was clear from the temper of the convention.

Postpone Steel Strike

Steel union president Philip Murray arriving for special convention accompanied by union counsel Arthur Goldberg and Int'l representative Frank Hoffman.

Dobbs Asks 25 Groups To Fight Lynch-Violence

(Continued from page 1)

But nothing effective has been done by the government, which makes perfunctory promises to investigate but clearly is not concerned with taking the drastic action it has the power to take in a crisis.

Those are the reasons which justify — in fact, urgently dictate — the broadening of the nature and scope of the coming gathering in Washington. It would not be worthy of the spirit of Harry T. Moore if the movement for which he sacrificed his life contented itself with mere protests that are disregarded because of their routine character. Both the government and the fascistic forces that seek to terrorize minority groups must be shown unmistakably that the overwhelming majority of the American people recognize the danger facing them and will not rest until it has been overcome.

The Ku Klux terrorists have respect for only one thing — strength. Since the government has failed to show it to them, it is up to you, who represent scores of millions of people, to show it to them on your own. Instead of calling 500 of your representatives to Washington on Feb. 17-18, we earnestly ask you to summon tens of thousands of Americans to march to the nation's capital in a dramatic demonstration of their demand that the murder of Harry and Harriet Moore be avenged by immediate and effective measures to halt the rising terrorism.

To reinforce this demand and to show the full strength that stands behind it, we urge you and your affiliated organizations to make plans for simultaneous mass demonstrations and meetings in all the cities where your organizations have members.

Nothing could be more effective in this connection than a protest work stoppage that would shut down both plants and neighborhood shops, such as has been tentatively proposed by NAACP Secretary Walter White.

And finally, we urge you to give serious attention, both at your Washington gathering and at all local demonstrations, to the formation of defense guards to protect the lives, homes and meeting places which the police and other authorities have shown unwillingness or inability to safeguard against racist violence.

You, as representatives of the organizations who are most directly affected by the new wave of terrorism, have a great responsibility and a correspondingly great opportunity. If at your steering committee meeting in Washington on Jan. 11 you will take steps to organize the kind of militant, united mass action suggested above, you will be discharging your responsibility in the spirit of Harry and Harriet Moore and you will be opening a counter-offensive that will send the racists scurrying back to their holes. Millions of Americans, including many not represented by your organizations, would respond eagerly to such a fighting program of action.

BIG WALL STREET MONEY BACKS GEN. EISENHOWER

(Continued from page 1)

Fleeson, Washington correspondent, pointed out in the Jan. 7 **N. Y. Post**, "Taft is not now exclusively the business candidate. Really big business contains many Eisenhower supporters, including the House of Morgan."

The House of Morgan, which played such an influential and sinister role in getting this country into two world wars, knows its man. The **Wall Street Journal** reports that Eisenhower's attitude "on domestic matters . . . can be fairly described as conservative." Indeed, he is a reactionary rock-ribbed Republican who in 1949 assailed social security, saying, "If all that Americans want is security, they can go to prison. They'll have enough to eat, a bed and a roof over their heads."

This hardened brass hat is being pushed for the presidency as a symbol of "national unity," a figure above parties and classes. The Democrats — Truman himself — have reinforced that propaganda.

Arthur Krock, political columnist of the **N. Y. Times**, last Nov. 8 and 9 revealed that the Democrats had made a strenuous bid to Eisenhower to accept their nomination in '52 and that Truman personally appealed to the general to run as the Democratic banner-bearer. Eisenhower himself disclosed in his book, "Crusade in Europe," that on one occasion Truman told him: "General, there is nothing that you want that I won't try to help you get. That definitely and specifically includes the Presidency in 1948."

Truman can have no principled objection to Eisenhower as his successor. Eisenhower could, with an easy conscience, have run as a Democrat. They are in agreement on the crucial question of foreign policy. Thus, the darling of many of the labor leaders, Sen. Paul H. Douglas, Ill. Democrat, last Dec. 29 called Eisenhower the "overwhelming favorite of the great masses" — meaning the Democratic leaders anyway.

The irony of the campaign for this anti-labor militarist is that it was originally initiated in 1948 by the labor leaders and liberals. Prior to the Democratic National Convention of June 1948, Eisenhower's name was pushed by CIO leaders as a replacement for Truman. CIO Secretary-Treasurer James Carey made a stump speech for Eisenhower before the Americans for Democratic Action. Eisenhower-for-President resolutions were passed in locals of Philip Murray's steel union. Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas — who was the chief guest speaker before the CIO United Auto Workers convention last April — in 1948, while she was a representative from California, sought to enlist Eisenhower as the Democratic candidate, but he refused.

Fortunately, said Farrell Dobbs, "besides the twin servants of Wall Street — the Republican and Democratic parties, there will be another party in the 1952 elections — the Socialist Workers Party. We will carry on a campaign against another war and against Big Business rule at home. We warn now and will continue to warn the American people that the election of Eisenhower would be a step accelerating the time table of Big Business for World War III and the militarization of America, which, if it is not halted, will end in a police or garrison state."

Tresca Memorial

The annual flower-laying ceremony and memorial meeting for Carlo Tresca, martyred revolutionist and editor of **Il Martello** (The Hammer), will take place Saturday, Jan. 12, at 1 p.m. at the scene of his assassination — NW Corner of Fifth Ave. and 15th St., N.Y.C. If the weather is unfavorable, the speaking will be held at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 E. 15th St. Friends or all those who wish to honor Tresca's memory are invited.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O Box 1842.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3-9690.

CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 PM. Phone HArrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND — 10609 Superior Ave.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6267.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 2-2498.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 9-4953.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK—428 Springfield Avenue.

NEW YORK CITY—Hq.: 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.

BROOKLYN — De Luxe Palace, 55½ Howard Ave.; near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.

ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters, MAin 7781.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 9278.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St.

STEEL UNION BLASTS BOSSES; DELAYS STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

Stabilization Board that was heartily applauded. "In 1946," he pointed out, "we asked for 46 cents an hour and the War Labor Board cut us down to 19½ cents, and then the union had to strike to get 18½ cents. In 1949, we agreed to go to the steel fact-finding board, and after the board gave us a small decision, we still had to strike for six weeks to get it." For these reason, he said he was "shaky about going to the Board now." However, Strassforth continued, if we do go to the board, it should be with this understanding: "If they make a fair recommendation, accept it. If not, for once the union should say, we will not accept! We ought to strike for our full 22 point program."

THEME REPEATED

This theme was repeated by Delegate Mayerik, president of the U. S. Steel local at Gary, Indiana, biggest local of the union. Saying, "We want to be able to feed and clothe and shelter our families 7 days a week on what we earn working 5 days a week," he went on to voice the sentiments of most of the convention:

"Give the Federal government some time to settle this," Mayerik said, "but no compromise on our 22-point program. No compromise to the corporations or to the Federal government!"

Sam Camens, president of the U.S. Steel plant at Youngstown, the 5,000 man Ohio Works, warned the delegates that the only way to win the union's 22-point program was to keep the strike weapon in readiness. "We need that to teach them all, U.S. Steel, the Wage Stabilization Board — keep the strike weapon high to teach them all!" Camens later pointed out that a steel strike would probably still be needed to win union demands and that such a strike would face the government as well as the corporations. He called for a great campaign to rally the union ranks.

While the convention was in general agreement on the strike postponement, it was such speeches as these that stirred the steelworkers and brought the handclaps, or the roars of approval, or that occasionally brought the whole convention to its feet in a thunderous demonstration such as can only be seen at a great labor meeting.

Philip Murray, intent upon exerting maximum pressure on the corporations in preparation for the coming WSB hearings, gave free rein to the floor speakers and even set the tone himself. Describing the terms demanded by the companies in negotiations, and then remarking the steel companies want the assistance of the union in imposing slavery upon the steel workers, Murray lowered his voice dramatically and, speaking slowly and distinctly, told a hushed and attentive convention: "The steel companies of the United States can go to hell with my compliments." As soon as these words were out of his mouth, a great bedlam broke loose as the convention rose to its feet with a mighty roar of approval, in one of the few genuinely heartfelt ovations ever given to Murray at a steel convention, where ovations are many, but real feeling is usually absent.

As a matter of fact, Murray found his main support in this struggle with the steel corporations among the most militant and independent elements in the union. It is precisely those that came to the fore in this steel convention who are the most critical-minded and the most apt to resist any attempts to back down in this or future struggles on the part of the Murray leadership. One militant delegate privately went so far as to say: "Murray is building himself a Frankenstein at this convention."

WANT NEW CONTRACT

While public attention has been focused on the union's attempt to bust through the government wage-freeze with an 18½ cent an hour pay raise, it is not this alone that concerns the members of the United Steelworkers. This is the first time in almost five years that the whole contract is open for discussion, and many important contract changes are demanded by the ranks. Overtime pay for weekends, elimination of lower pay rates in the South, a halt to crew-cutting and speedup, paid holidays and better vacation benefits are all in the negotiation hopper this year.

A contract that is five years old, and that has been, for some time now, merely a battleground between the parties, rather than a safeguard of union conditions, is a pretty poor contract under which to work. Bill Milano of California pointed out: "Under this 1947 contract, we are working under the interpretation of the interpretation of the interpretation," and he added: "The sentiments of my local union are: If we don't get a contract, we don't work."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent **Ethel Swanson** reports an outstanding job done by New **York Militant** salesmen in the past week. A total of 157 papers were sold at the following public meetings.

"At an ALP Moore protest meeting Wednesday, 35 copies of last week's issue were sold by **Ruth B., Milton B., Frank F., Fred E.,** and **Edith G.** Four copies of 'The Road to Peace' and 10 of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' were sold at the same meeting," Ethel writes.

"**John K., Edith G., Bernie, Ed E., George W., Donald** and **Ethel P.** sold 27 **Militants** Friday at a meeting in the St. Nicholas Arena to protest the indictment of the Communist Party leaders. Four copies of the World Congress issue of **Fourth International** were also sold. This was especially gratifying as the audience was largely Stalinist.

"Sunday afternoon 75 copies of the current **Militant** featuring the Florida bombing outrage were sold at an NAACP Moore case protest meeting at the St. John's Baptist Church. Those participating in the sale were **Dave, Melba, Harold R., Rebecca, Myron,** and **Berta Z.** Five copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' were also sold. On several occasions our comrades were challenged by Negroes entering the meeting with, 'Well, what are you going to do about it?' When we replied with our slogan for organizing defense guards, we were met with a warm and friendly response. Many **Militants** were sold only after such an exchange of words.

"That same evening 20 papers were sold at a Community Church meeting for Scott Nearing by our indefatigable literature agent of the downtown branch, **John K.,** who covered this meeting alone. He sold two copies of 'The Road to Peace' besides."

Bert Deck writes that **Chicago** is now beginning their renewal work with Comrade **Elaine** in charge. He encloses a number of renewals for a starter and expects more good results next week. On street sales, Bert writes, "**Helen** has been braving the Chicago weather every week to sell **Militants** on a street corner near her house. Last week she sold 13 papers; today, nine. **Snow** and **Mitch** sold 13 papers at a plant gate, and **Manny** has been pitching in regularly selling on the campus and street corner."

Three more renewals from **Akron** bring their total to seven so far. **Lou** writes that "one of these is a former member of the Young Communist League in the coal mines who lost track of radical political ideas for many years before originally subscribing last July. He also bought a copy of 'The Road to Peace.'" Lou has found a very favorable response among subscribers visited for renewals. "Our average may not continue as good," he says, "however, a good start means a good finish."

Literature Agent **Bea Allen** sends in the following story from **Detroit**: "One of the comrades here was trying to sleep last Sunday after his new baby woke him up. So he picked up 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' which he hadn't read before and thought that a little reading would make him sleepy. But as he read he found it so absorbing that he sat up and finished it. Then he decided that this was a pamphlet that other workers in this city should have a chance to read. So he dressed, went over to the hall, and picked up all we had left at the time and went out to sell them. In every house he approached in the project he went to he sold one, with the exception of one where the woman just didn't have the money. When our new order came in he took 25 right away to sell during the week."

Temperatures around zero have interfered with street sales, Bea writes, since people are in too much of a hurry to stop and talk, but in spite of the cold several good sales were made at the unemployment compensation lines this week. "On Wednesday **Jim** and **Gil** went out and sold 23 copies of **The Militant**, 10 of the 'Negro Struggle,' and two copies of 'The Road to Peace.' On Thursday **Jim, Esther,** and **Eleanor** went to the same place and 15 **Militants** were sold. Jim, who has been doing a splendid job, also took 15 of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' to sell during the week on his own."

THEIR MORALS AND OURS

By Leon Trotsky

64 pages **25 cents**

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Latest Catalogue on Request

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Subscription: $2 per year; $1 for 6 months. Foreign: $3.50 per year; $2 for 6 months. Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVI - No. 2 Monday, January 14, 1952

Taxes and Prices

Top government officials, once again showing themselves to be willing servants of the giant corporations, are preparing to revise the present price-profits policy in response to complaints by Big Business. The present formula guarantees the corporations at least 85% of the record profits of the 1946-49 period.

The complaint of business is that the present yardstick is unsatisfactory to them because it does not include the effect of federal taxes on corporate profits. Roger Putnam, the government's top "economic stabilizer," has announced that he is looking for a "better yardstick," or, in other words, is out to grant the companies the higher profits that they are after.

Putnam's immediate response to his master's voice is in sharp contrast to the attitude shown by government officials when the very same matter was raised by the labor movement. The unions have also pointed out that, if the pay scale of workers is tied to the cost-of-living index, which does not include the constantly rising federal taxes, then the living standards of the working people are constantly being cut.

The International Association of Machinists (AFL), representing 700,000 workers, made this complaint last Sept. 15, and has been joined by other large union bodies. Yet the government has taken no notice of labor's demand that taxes be included in the cost-of-living index, despite the fact that the health and living standards of tens of millions of Americans are at stake.

However, in the case of the corporations, despite the fact that only the already bloated profits of the industrialists are involved, the government goes right to work to satisfy them. The protests of millions have no effect, while, where Big Business is concerned, a few, whispered backstage talks are enough to make the government jump to attention.

Prison Camps--For Whom?

"Federal action in Florida is imperative!" This was the message sent to Washington by thousands of organizations and individuals all over the country after the bomb-murders of Harry and Harriet Moore.

On Jan. 3 the Department of Justice acted in Florida. It took over a surplus military installation at Avon Park, Fla., for use as a concentration camp.

Perhaps a concentration camp in which to lodge the murderers of Harry and Harriet Moore? In which to hold the racists and Ku Kluxers who have been throwing bombs at Jewish and Catholic places of worship in Miami? In which to punish the sheriffs, deputy sheriffs and ordinary cops who have brutally murdered so many helpless Negroes during the last year?

Not at all. It is a concentration camp for so-called "subversives" who can be rounded up and put behind barbed wire under the provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950.

That is how the American capitalist class and its political errand boys intend to "defend democracy" — by imitating Hitler's and Stalin's treatment of their political opponents and of every man and woman who dares to voice an independent opinion.

These concentration camps are not designed for the murderers of Harry and Harriet Moore — they are designed for those who condemn that murder and point the finger of guilt at federal and state officials who have it in their power to stop the lynch-terrorism but refuse to do so.

In fact, it is not at all fantastic or far-fetched to conclude that Harry and Harriet Moore, if they had not been killed for opposing Jim Crow violence, might eventually have ended up behind the wire at the Avon Park concentration camp.

For the aim of the Truman administration's witch hunt is to get rid of all the opponents of crimes like war and Jim Crow whom the lynchers don't get first.

Eisenhower and Labor

The myth of the two-party system crumbles under the weighty fact of Gen. Eisenhower's agreement to accept a Republican nomination for president. What meaning does "two-party system" have when Eisenhower is pushed to succeed Truman on the basic program upon which they are both agreed?

This identity of program on the crucial question of U.S. imperialist global strategy for war is so complete that Truman himself could envisage Eisenhower as his successor. He and other leading Democrats sought up to the last moment to get Eisenhower to run as a Democrat. Sen. Paul H. Douglas — the Democrat whom labor leaders in a recent poll named as the candidate they preferred next to Truman — has given the general the most fulsome praise and predicted that a "great many" Democrats would desert their party for Eisenhower.

Where does this leave labor? Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO auto workers, told the CIO convention last Nov. 9 that "I have carefully examined the record of General Eisenhower and I want to say that I find nothing in his record which would indicate that he is an acceptable candidate for President as far as organized labor is concerned."

Mazey is dead right. But the very man that the labor leaders have found "acceptable" in the past are the ones who have built up Eisenhower and consider him very "acceptable" in the White House. What do union officials like Mazey propose? To back an anti-labor militarist like Eisenhower? To back those who would have liked this militarist as their candidate but couldn't get him?

The whole ridiculous dilemma would be solved if the labor leaders did their duty and started a labor party in 1952 with its own candidate for president.

Bevan and the Laborite Left Wing

From Our London Correspondent

There has been a Bevan group in the British Labor Party for many years now, constituted, in the main, around the Tribune (a fortnightly publication). During the heyday of the Labor Government, when Aneurin Bevan was a Minister, the group did nothing, apart from issuing an occasional criticism. The center pages of the Tribune were paid for officially by Transport House and featured regular rightwing press handouts. In spite of all this, the group hung together and as a parliamentary force was able to muster some 27 members of Parliament.

The Bevan movement has no separate organization in the Labor Party ranks. Its parliamentary followers meet about once a month and are by no means homogeneous. Mikardo speaks for the left and is perhaps the most disliked by the right wing, but at the same time he chauvinistically defends their Egyptian policy. The group contains elements who may be classified as right centrists, and from time to time these tend to hold the others back. Bevan, it seems, sometimes shows up on the left.

At least ninety percent of the Constituency Labor Parties are behind Bevan; they see in him a means of polarizing their opposition to the right wing. Many of these groups say openly that they distrust him as an individual but line up because they view the powerful force behind him as a means to overthrow Morrison and Attlee. In other words, the Bevan movement includes everybody from the revolutionary left to right centrists. It reflects in every sense a new stage in the mass radicalization of the British working class.

Inside the trade unions the most powerful support comes from Jim Figgins, the General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. He and his union are against rearmament and have made open statements opposed to war preparations. Gathered around them are a host of smaller unions such as the Constructional Engineering Union, Foundry Workers, Electricians, Boilermakers, Fire Brigades. Some are under Communist Party influence and control, but the NUR is by no means inclined this way. On the side lines, as it were, stands the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Its National Committee has a leftish policy, but the leadership of Jack Tanner (ex-C.P. renegade) and Co. is to the right, although it declared open support for Bevan when he left the Cabinet. All told the Bevan tendency can muster votes representing 3½ million trade unionists in the Trades Union Congress. If this is taken in conjunction with the undoubted support of the rank and file union members of Deakin's Transport and General, and the Municipal and General, as well as the Mineworkers — unions whose support is for the moment bottled up by right-wing leaderships, then we get a more real assessment of the enormous base upon which Bevan rests.

This trade union support distinguishes the Bevan group from all previous Labor Party left wings. The Socialist League and I.L.P. were confined to constituency parties, but the left wing today embraces unions as well as these parties. Historically, therefore, all indications seem to show that the Labor Party is due for a change of leadership.

The program of the Bevan group, so far, has two main planks: Hands off the National Health Service and cut rearmament. These are popular demands, but there is one fatal weakness about the attitude towards the arms program. In "One Way Only" Bevan insists that he is not against the program in principle and that he would be for a bigger arms drive against Russia under certain conditions. Thus we can see the opportunist swamp which surges around the group. The passage to the camp of American imperialism can, under certain conditions, be very rapid especially if the war danger grows. In such a case the movement would undoubtedly fall apart.

Bevan today reflects the growth of the left wing, but he is also tied by a thousand strings to classical social democracy. His whole career is steeped with its traditional opportunism. His role as a Minister of His Majesty's Government invariably found him acting as a left cover for the most anti-working class actions of the Cabinet. As Minister for Health he refused time and again to abolish the hated Tithe Cottage of the rural districts. He remained silent over the biggest betrayals. With a pro-war line he can go back to this role as easily as one changes a coat.

What is important for revolutionists is the nature of the movement behind Bevan. This is not the heyday of centrism. With conditions growing steadily worse, bigger and bigger issues will pile up before Bevan, and he must either go further left or right. On domestic issues he can go much more left but the war question is his weak spot, and it is this question which dominates everything else.

CONDITIONS FAVORABLE

Conditions are extremely favorable for revolutionary Marxists in England today, provided they march in step with the mass movement. The over-all perspective must be based on an irreconcilable struggle against a government coalition of any sort — open or concealed. This can be best concretized by an all-out campaign to oust the Tory Government as quickly as possible and in turn this will require Labor MP's and the Labor Party as a whole to actively lead the masses on all issues. The left must set the pace here.

Inside the Labor Party, the slogan of "Bevan to Power," does not mean a campaign for Bevan the individual, but a concerted effort to replace the present Attlee leadership with one representative of the real left wing of the Labor Party. Such a leadership, by counteracting Bevan's opportunist policies, could win the support of British labor for a revolutionary solution to the social crisis.

Another TV Victim For The 'Red Channels' Mob

By Fred Hart

The power of the witch hunters over America's entertainment and communications media was again demonstrated last week with the purging of Philip Loeb, veteran actor, from the role he had created in the television version of "The Goldbergs."

Loeb's firing was a result of his being listed in **Red Channels**, a blacklist of entertainers alleged to have been connected at one time or another with Stalinist front organizations. A recent expose of **Red Channels** in the **Militant** (Dec. 24, 1951) showed the anti-labor, blackmailing nature of this publication and its ties with reactionary elements including remnants of Father Couglin's Christian Front.

Loeb is listed by **Red Channels** as having been connected with 17 "Red causes" since the 1930s. It was on this basis that the popular TV show, "The Goldergs," has been off the air since last spring. TV sponsors, terrorized by the threats of **Red Channels**, refused to sign the show with Loeb in the cast. Mrs. Gertrude Berg, writer and owner of the show, told of her unsuccessful efforts to find a sponsor for the show with Loeb in the cast. "I certainly have tried," Mrs. Berg told reporters, "I think everybody in the business knows it pretty well. Everybody knows what the situation has been." Immediately following the firing of Loeb the NBC network bought the show.

LATEST VICTIM

Loeb is but one more in a long list of television entertainers purged from the industry for their alleged political beliefs or former beliefs. The situation broke into the open last year with the firing of Jean Muir from her role in "The Aldrich Family" by General Foods. In one case, that of the late Mady Christians, the persecuted victim was driven to her death. Two months ago the famous playwright, Elmer Rice, publicly resigned from television in protest against the blacklisting of actors and actresses.

Loeb has denied ever having been a communist and has demanded a hearing at which he could refute the charges against him. This demand has been endorsed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Council on Freedom from Censorship.

Loeb also called upon Actors' Equity and the Television Authority, both AFL entertainers' unions, to back him up in his fight. These two unions are on record in resolutions condemning industry blacklists and favoring hearings. Equity officials have urged, on jurisdictional grounds, that the Television Authority "take immediate and suitable action" on Loeb's case and have promised their own "cooperation and assistance."

MAY BACK LOEB

Indications that the television actors' union may back Loeb up in his demand for a hearing is a promising sign. However, the statement of George Heller, Executive-Secretary of the union, that his organization will not defend communists but will only support those blacklisted actors who have denied "pro-communist" sympathies, shows the weakness of the union's position.

Unions were founded to protect the interests of their members, regardless of religious, racial or political views. An actor on television could not express "pro-communist" views over the air, if he wanted to. He is confined to the script — and as every one knows these are filled with just the other kind of propaganda — Big Business propaganda.

Fund Quotas Reached by 4 More Branches

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Receipts during the past week in the Socialist Workers Party campaign for an $18,000 Organization and Press fund amounted to $1,269. This increased the over-all total to $13,131 as of Jan. 8, or 73% of the national quota. We dropped 20% behind schedule. And there is only one week more to go.

Four more branches rang the gong this week — **Akron, Connecticut, Flint, Seattle** — sharing top honors with **Milwaukee** and **Cleveland.** Other branches are pounding toward the goal at a speed that assures their hitting 100% by the deadline.

Milwaukee's additional payment of $17 shot their percentage up to 110 and **Francis DeWolfe,** Fund Director for the branch, hopes "that next week's check shall double or triple the drab amount of this week's collection."

Akron went over the top to 101%. **Lou Cooper** writes: "Our quota was completed the last evening of the old year when a good friend fulfilled his original pledge and gave $2 extra."

"We're over the top and more to come," shouts Comrade **Pearl of Connecticut.** This branch ties Akron with 101%.

Comrade **Genora** writes for **Flint:** "Attached is check for $39 to pay up our Organization and Press Fund pledge in full. We still have a couple more promises to follow up on, but at least we're in the 100% column and can be checked off your 'waiting list.'"

Seattle hit 100% with a $55 payment. "We were a little worried about meeting our quota in full," says Comrade **Frank,** "when a number of comrades became unemployed during the campaign, but some of our sympathizers filled in for them."

Letters from some of the branches not yet 100% indicate they will get in under the wire by Jan. 15. Comrade **Hildegarde** sent in $76 for **Chicago** stating: "I'm sure that Chicago will be in, in full and on time yet!"

Two checks totaling $191 gave **Boston** a real boost, from 44 to 79%. "We are desperately trying to make the deadline and I am almost positive we will," says **Sally Conti.**

These branches too gained ground during the week: **Newark** sent in $27, **Philadelphia** $70, **St. Paul - Minneapolis** $48, **Buffalo** $101.50, **New York** $426.10, **Detroit** $106, and **San Francisco** $80.

Three friends mailed in contributions to the fund this week: **J. E.** of **Chicago** sent $5; **D. P.** of **Gary, Ind.** $5; and **Ruth J.** and **A.** of **Evansville, Ind.,** completed their $10 quota 100%.

$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	$ 250	$ 274	110
Cleveland	300	306	102
Akron	150	152	101
Connecticut	75	76	101
Flint	350	350	100
Seattle	400	400	100
St. Louis	100	95	95
Chicago	1,000	917	92
Newark	500	460	92
Philadelphia	400	332	83
Boston	550	432	79
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	765	77
Buffalo	1,000	761	76
New York	5,000	3,745	75
Pittsburgh	50	35	70
Detroit	1,500	1,011	67
Los Angeles	2,600	1,638	63
Youngstown	350	206	59
San Francisco	1,000	455	46
Toledo	50	20	40
Oakland	150	21	14
Allentown	75	0	0
General	1,225	680	56
Total through Jan. 8	$18,000	$13,131	73

—Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 10—

INSURRECTION! THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

By Harry Frankel

In May 1773, the British Ministry, grappling with the problem of subjugating the opposition in the American colonies, conceived what it considered to be a clever scheme.

The British East India Company, exploiter of the Indian masses and darling of the British Crown, had large quantities of tea in its warehouses, unsold and unsalable. This tea had paid a duty of 12 pence per pound when imported into Britain from the Far East. The Ministry proposed to return this tax to the Company, if it would agree to ship the tea to the colonies, where it would have to pay an entrance duty to the Crown of only 3 pence.

The colonists, in protest against the import tax, had been drinking smuggled Dutch tea. But now, under the new plan, British tea could be sold for far less than the smuggled Dutch product even after paying the import duty.

By this plan, Lord North hoped to make a double coup. He would give much needed assistance to the British East India Company, and he would dangle cheap, though taxed, tea before the colonial population. He hoped that, by taking advantage of the so-called "Yankee avarice" he could tempt the Americans into paying the hated import duty on tea which was then by far the most favored beverage. Once this was done, other taxed commodities could slip in through the breach.

In this way, as Lord North put it, "the king meant to try the case in America." Cheap tea was to be used to undermine the principles of the revolutionists.

The "Clever" Maneuver Backfires

Rarely has a "clever" maneuver been turned more suddenly and completely against the maneuverers. If King George wanted to "try the case" Sam Adams and the radicals were more than ready to oblige him. They had done their work well. A solid organization stood ready for the test, and the British rulers were in for a terrible shock.

Throughout the colonies, the British provocation was met with the most determined resistance. The radical wing of the opposition now came into its own, as the popular rage mounted against the British ruse. Huge mass meetings and demonstrations, reminiscent of the anti-Stamp Act campaign of 1765, swept the colonies.

East India Company tea was turned back from wharfs throughout the land. In some cases, it was seized and destroyed, as in Annapolis, where the tea was burned, ships and all, before it could be put ashore. In other cases, the tea was confiscated and placed under armed guard by people's militia called out by the Committees of Correspondence.

The events in Boston were crucial. Here Sam Adams, with great care and deliberation, maneuvered a deadlock that could be resolved only by a revolutionary action.

In the fall of 1773, three tea-laden vessels arrived from England and anchored just beyond Castle William, the British military fortification whose guns commanded the entrance to Boston harbor.

To comprehend what follows, we must take note of the regulations which governed the movements of ships that entered the harbor. Such ships could not leave without a certification from the authorities that their cargo had been discharged. Moreover, after having been in the harbor for a certain period of time, the ships had to discharge their cargo and pay duty on it.

Adams Plans Insurrection

The first move made by the Boston radicals was to invite the ships into the harbor. It is plain from this that Adams intended to create an insurrectionary crisis. Once the ships had passed the guns of Castle William, a deadlock that could not be solved by any but forcible means would be created. The tea would have to be landed and pay duty, or destroyed.

The ships entered the harbor, in compliance with the invitation from the Adams forces. It was soon to become plain that the Tory authorities, under the lead of Governor Hutchinson, had also decided upon a test of strength, and were not averse to the creation of the deadlock.

No sooner were the ships fairly in the harbor and moored at Griffin's wharf, than the Boston radicals caused an armed guard of the people's militia to be placed upon them. If the tea were to be landed, force would be required.

Now began the next phase of the radical campaign. The town meetings and other organizations of the masses insisted that the tea ships depart with their hated cargo. Captain Rotch, master of the **Dartmouth,** first of the three tea ships to enter the harbor, was mercilessly badgered with this demand. He was quite willing to depart, having seen how hopeless his situation was. But he found that the Governor would not issue clearance papers until his cargo had been discharged, and without such papers he could never hope to pass the guns of Castle William.

This was the situation which Sam Adams had foreseen and deliberately created. He now gathered his forces in preparation for the coming crisis. The demand of the radical leadership that the tea be withdrawn from the harbor was militantly supported by the people of Boston and of the whole surrounding area. Crowds of armed men flocked to the revolutionary capital, to watch by day and sleep on their arms at night as the tension mounted. The largest meetings in Boston history raised a great shout for the departure of the vessels.

Adams threw his most able popular orators into the battle. As the distracted captain rushed back and forth between the mass meetings and the governor, the radical speakers sounded the call for action. "The hand is on the plow and there is no turning back," one speaker put it.

"This Meeting Can Do Nothing More. . . "

Finally, the crucial moment arrived. December 17 was the final date, after which the authorities would try to land the tea by force. On the night of December 16th, 1773, an enormous meeting of over 8,000 people sat and waited for the governor's final reply to the repeated request for clearance papers. At length the tired Captain Rotch entered with the expected "No."

At this point, Sam Adams mounted the rostrum. He spoke only ten words: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

This short speech was one of the greatest and wisest in American history. In it is concentrated the wisdom of a people in revolution, who have reached the moment when further palaver with the reactionary minority is useless, and when the time for action is at hand.

Adam's brief speech was a compact analysis of the revolutionary situation; it was also a prearranged signal. As soon as he had pronounced the fateful words, the insurrection was under way. A whoop was heard from the gallery, and turning, the meeting saw a troop of "Mohawk Indians," Boston radicals in warpaint, blankets and feathers, who raised the shout, "Boston harbor a teapot tonight."

Sam Adams' "Mohawks" led the way to Griffin's wharf, many thousands from the meeting following. Boarding the tea-ships, where the armed guard of the Sons of Liberty awaited them, they dumped into the harbor chests of tea to the value of some 18,000 English pounds. The ships' crews helped, and the thousands who lined the shore watched and cheered.

The deed was done. The revolutionists, with Sam Adams at their head, had flung down the gauntlet of revolt to the armed might of Imperial Britain!

We have seen that the Boston radicals were not the only ones who destroyed tea. Similar deeds were done in other colonial cities. But in Boston, the upheaval was so great, the activity and support of the masses so widespread, the challenge of the revolutionists so obvious and deliberate, that the Boston insurrection precipitated the final revolutionary crisis.

The Boston Tea Party developed over a period of several months, and the masses throughout the colonies were kept well informed by the radicals of the events as they took place. When the deadlock was broken, a nationwide support had rallied behind Sam Adams, and when the British Ministry answered the Tea Party with the Coercive Acts, the battle was joined.

This was as Sam Adams had planned it. "The Old Man" as he was affectionately called in Boston, was now reaching the height of his national and international fame.

(Next Week: The Old Man)

CLEVELAND
Sunday Night
Lecture Series
"A Marxist Interpretation of Literature"
Speaker: Leo Gleisser
8 P. M.
S.W.P. Headquarters
10609 Superior

DETROIT
GEORGE CLARKE
speaking on
The Approaching World Showdown
Sunday, January 20, 3 P. M.
6108 Linwood
Donation 35 cents
No Charge for Unemployed

Newark Friday Night Socialist Forum
presents a lecture on
The Philosophy of John Dewey and Sidney Hook
(first of two talks on the crisis of American philosophy)
Speaker:
Murray Sherman
Friday, Jan. 18, at 8:30
at 423 Springfield Ave.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVI — MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1952 — NUMBER 2

The Negro Struggle

International Solidarity

By Jean Blake

Sympathy with the struggles of colonial people against world imperialism has long been a factor in the Negro movement in America. Just as in this country, the capitalist rulers abroad have found it advantageous to keep the most oppressed separated from the rest of the exploited on a color basis, and have created a whole mythology of white supremacy to support the Jim Crow system. White Western European nations have utilized segregation and discrimination of the most brutal type to help keep the colored colonial masses of Africa and Asia in subjection.

American Negroes have expressed their consciousness of this international white supremacy rule in many ways, from bitter jokes by the man in the street about the fact that the U.S. dropped the first atom bomb on Japan rather than Germany, to annual resolutions by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in support of freedom for colonial peoples.

With the upsurge of the Asian masses throwing off white imperialist domination, American Negroes feel an increase in their bargaining strength here at home. They welcome expressions of sympathy and support for their struggle for democratic rights in the United States from the revolutionary movements in Asia, and they welcome criticism of Cicero race-haters and Florida anti-Negro terrorists from all corners of the globe.

But international solidarity works two ways: It is necessary to give as well as receive. American Negroes, in their own intelligent self-interest, have an obligation to understand and support the struggles of the colonial peoples — not merely on a color basis, but because they have a common oppressor in world imperialism headed by the American government.

This intelligent self-interest requires knowledge. It is necessary to be informed about the class forces in the colonial struggles in order to be able to evaluate them, to be able to cut through the propaganda of the U.S. State Department on the one hand, and the Stalinists, on the other.

A most valuable source of information for this purpose is the complete report of the Third World Congress of the Fourth International which appears in the current issue of the magazine, **Fourth International.**

The congress, which was held in Switzerland the beginning of last September, was attended by delegates, observers and visitors from 27 organizations in 25 countries and all the continents. "Especially notable," according to the report in the F. I., "was the delegation from the Far East composed of a dozen comrades representing China, India, Vietnam and Ceylon. . . .

"A representative from the labor movement of Negro Africa participated for the first time in a meeting of the Fourth International."

The Fourth International is an organization of working-class parties and groups in some thirty countries throughout the world. It was founded in 1938 under the leadership of Leon Trotsky to advance the cause of international socialism betrayed by the Stalinist-dominated Third International.

The recent World Congress of the Fourth International deliberated for 11 days, heard speeches and adopted resolutions on the world situation and the tasks and perspectives of the international working class. On Africa, for example, the following resolution was adopted:

"In the French North African Colonies, as well as in those of French Equatorial Africa, our forces should integrate themselves into the national movement and into those organizations which are its best expression in order to develop a consistent Marxist wing within them and to prevent their exploitation by Stalinism.

"In South Africa, our forces, which are already seriously rooted in the national movement, should strengthen their ideological cohesiveness while guarding against any possibility of loosening their ties with the rest of our international movement.

"In Egypt, our reorganized forces should envisage the best means of integrating themselves into the national movement and especially of attaching themselves to the young Egyptian proletariat in the workshops and factories."

The analyses and resolutions on the struggle in Africa and Asia are part of an integrated world survey necessary for strengthening the unity and solidarity of the international working class in the final crisis of world capitalism which we are witnessing today.

Copies of the current issue of **Fourth International** may be secured from 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

C. E. Wilson and Mr. Dooley

By Jerry Warren

The philosophy of C. E. Wilson, former head of General Electric, who is now working for his and all the other corporate giants as Defense Mobilization czar, was best summed up years ago by the Irish philosopher and wit, Mr. Dooley. Dooley was describing a conversation between Capital and Labor. Capital was prescribing its formula for industrial peace and high production. "Capital says to Labor, 'You keep on laboring and we'll keep on capitalizing.'"

C. E. Wilson may not be as succinct in expression as Mr. Dooley but his actions speak louder than words and they boil down to Dooley's formula. But this all didn't just happen. It was prepared well in advance.

The CIO News reveals the fact that most of the corporate get-richer-quicker and anti-labor policy now being put into effect in Washington was discussed at a closed conference of Big Business tycoons. There C. E. Wilson played a leading role just three months before he became mobilization czar.

This conference — "the most distinguished group ever assembled to consider industry's part in a national emergency" — decided that its top job was "to offset the growing power of labor."

How well this has been accomplished since Wilson took over, trade union members know all too well in terms of lagging wages, soaring prices, unsettled grievances, higher taxes, etc. One facet not too well known, however, is industry's program of avoiding where possible the construction of large plants in favor of many scattered plants and moving its plants from strong union areas into unorganized territory.

"Runaway" shops are nothing new. They were a common phenomenon in the shoe, textile and garment industries. Employers would leave districts where the unions had established decent conditions and move to backwoods areas of cheap, unorganized labor. But these were small capitalist concerns. Today we are witnessing a runaway movement by the biggest corporations in the country. But isn't that fantastically expensive, you ask? Sure. But the bill is paid for almost in toto by the taxpayers.

The cover for this is the plant dispersal policy which is supposed to prevent too many valuable factories being destroyed at once by an atomic bomb. The taxpayers enter the picture under the "certificate of necessity" racket which permits favored corporations to deduct the cost of new plants from taxes over a five year period.

At the closed conference of industrialists mentioned above, Wilson stated: "In other words, the cost of the building doesn't make a bit of difference. The biggest proposition we have to think about today is the cost of labor."

That was putting it theoretically, let's see how it looks in practice. One of the Westinghouse's most modern plants is in Bowling Green, Kentucky — hardly an area that is a likely target for an atomic bomb. More dangerous from the company's point of view, however, was the fact that the workers there were militant members of the IUE-CIO. After a long lockout the company failed to smash the union. It then closed the plant and announced it was moving out of town. Since Westinghouse has received more than $100 million in certificates of necessity from Czar Wilson to build new plants "the cost of the building doesn't make a bit of difference."

In case any GE stockholders, reading this article, are worried lest Wilson in devoting his time and talents to the cause of Big Business as a whole has neglected the interests of General Electric, here are a few facts. GE is one of the eight companies that received more than 25 per cent of all government defense orders last year. GE is one of the worst offenders in seeking low wage, unorganized areas in which to locate its new certificate-of-necessity plants. And simultaneous with Wilson's coronation as mobilization czar, the government pigeon-holed the anti-trust suits against GE. Finally Wilson hand-picked a reliable man to hold the fort at GE while he was serving GE — oops, I mean his country — in Washington. The successor is one Ralph J. Cordiner, who rang out the old year in traditional GE style with a blast against the wage demands of the steel workers, declaring: "I think all this will have to come to a stop sometime," nothing will help "until the American people start to resist this trend toward higher wage grants."

Notes from the News

UNION ORGANIZER SLAIN. . . Anti-union hysteria whipped up by employers' propaganda was responsible for the murder of Lowell Simmons, stated Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers Union. Simmons, a TWUA organizer, was murdered in Bemis, Tennessee, where a strike had been in progress for two months.

* * *

OPINION ON MAO REGIME. . . Business Week, magazine representing financial interests, devotes an article to an examination of China's economic and political situation. The conclusion of the article and its title: "China's Red Regime: Stronger Than Ever."

* * *

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE announced a south-wide conference of its branches to meet in Jacksonville, Florida, on Jan. 20. The NAACP reports: "Outraged by the Florida bombing, southern NAACP members have refused to be intimidated by this terrorist murder of one of their leaders, and throughout the south there have been expressions of indignation and renewed determination to continue the fight for full equality."

* * *

HE DIDN'T MEAN THAT. . . Truman's device to get around the First Amendment which guarantees separation of Church and State was not to appoint Gen. Clark Ambassador to the Vatican but to "The State of Vatican City." This state is 108 acres in area and has about the same population as a large apartment building in N.Y.C. AWAKE, Jehovah's Witnesses' magazine, points out: "If the Vatican is a bona fide state, then according to American law (U.S. Code, 1946 edition, Titles 16 to 26), all of the bishops, as representatives of the pope, would have to be registered as foreign agents. Not only that but all American cardinals would lose their citizenship by reason of the fact of having voted in a foreign election (for a pope)!"

* * *

TRUMAN SURPASSES ALL OTHERS. . . Just in Truman's administration alone government spending has exceeded the combined total from the time George Washington took the oath of office until Roosevelt's death. Overwhelming bulk of the Truman administration's spending has been for wars, past, present and especially future.

* * *

MARKED FOR PURGING. . . Liberals are waiting for Judge Delbert E. Metzger, whose term in office recently ran out, to get the axe. Metzger, one of the two U.S. district judges in Hawaii, is apparently old-fashioned enough to believe in the Bill of Rights. He incurred the wrath of the Department of Justice when he fixed bail for seven alleged communists, indicted under the Smith Act, at $7,500 apiece rather than at the $75,000 the Truman administration wanted. Department of Justice officials tried unsuccessfully to have him disqualified as the trial judge and then announced that he would not be re-appointed when his term expired. The conservative Hawaii Bar Association recently voted an overwhelming recommendation that Metzger be re-appointed.

* * *

RANK AND FILE CLEAN HOUSE. . . St. Louis members of the AFL Street Car Drivers and Bus Drivers Union, Local 688, have overwhelmingly ousted their old officials, some of whom have held office for 27 years. Winning slate was headed by A. J. Carroll who led an unauthorized strike in 1950. Despite the fact that the state had "seized" the streetcar lines under the anti-labor Kings-Thompson Act, workers brought public transportation to a standstill.

George Clarke Starts on Nat'l Speaking Tour

George Clarke, editor of the Marxist magazine Fourth International, will open his national speaking tour in Buffalo. The subject of his talk will be: "The Approaching International Showdown."

Clarke recently returned from Europe where he studied at first hand the reaction of the European labor movement to Wall Street's war drive.

His tour will cover some of the major cities from coast to coast. Friends of the **Militant** and Socialist Workers Party are planning public meetings on the dates indicated in the tour schedule published below.

CLARKE TOUR SCHEDULE

Buffalo	Jan. 11-14
Detroit	Jan. 16-17
Flint	Jan. 18
Detroit	Jan. 19-21
Toledo	Jan. 22
Chicago	Jan. 23-26
Milwaukee	Jan. 27-28
Minneapolis-St. Paul	Jan. 30-Feb. 3
Seattle	Feb. 6-11
San Francisco-Oakland	Feb. 13-17
Los Angeles	Feb. 19-24
St. Louis	Feb. 27
Cleveland	Feb. 29-Mar. 1
Youngstown	Mar. 2-3
Akron	Mar. 4-5
Pittsburgh	Mar. 6-7
Philadelphia	Mar. 8-9
Boston	Mar. 14-16
Newark	Mar. 21

James Kutcher to Speak on Purge At Boston Forums

BOSTON, Jan. 9 — J. Kutcher, legless victim of the government's "loyalty" purge, will speak before the Harvard Liberal Union on Jan. 10 on the subject, "The Loyalty Program and Its Victims."

The next evening he will speak at a symposium at the Boston Community Church, jointly sponsored by the Church Civil Liberties Committee and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. Representatives of the ACLU and other organizations will also speak at the symposium.

Kutcher was discharged from his clerical job with the Newark Veterans Administration, because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. His case is now before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington. In his appeal, the legless veteran is challenging the constitutionality of the whole "loyalty" purge and its "subversive" blacklist.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

by

JAMES P. CANNON

The Road to Peace	48 pp.	$.25
The History of American Trotskyism	268 pp. Paper	$1.50
	Cloth	2.50
The Struggle for a Proletarian Party	302 pp. Paper	$1.50
	Cloth	2.50
To the Memory of the Old Man	15 pp.	$.10
The Russian Revolution	32 pp.	$.10
American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism	48 pp.	$.15
The End of the Comintern	36 pp.	$.10
The Workers and the Second World War	48 pp.	$.15
Socialism on Trial	111 pp.	$.35
The Coming American Revolution	32 pp.	$.10

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

Seattle SWP Candidate to Fight Judge's Ruling on 'Loyalty' Oath

SEATTLE, Jan. 5 — The Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party will appeal the decision of Judge Robert Jones, who today upheld the Kimball law "loyalty oath" for candidates. Judge Jones issued his ruling in the suits brought separately by Daniel Roberts, Seattle chairman of the SWP, and Thomas Rabbit, Washington state secretary for the Progressive Party, against the Seattle election officials.

The case arose when on December 26, Roberts sought to file for the office of mayor of Seattle but refused to sign the oath required by law. He then instituted suit to have the law declared void because it violated the right of free speech and the right to free elections.

On December 28, Thomas Rabbit, seeking to file for city council, also refused to sign the oath; and brought suit when he was denied the right to file. The two challenges were tried jointly before Judge Jones.

The judge refused to entertain the arguments raised by Frederick Post, attorney for Daniel Roberts, that the Kimball act violated the free speech clauses in both the Federal and State Constitutions and the clause in the state constitution which provides that "All elections shall be free and equal, and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage."

Judge Jones again turned a deaf ear to the argument when it was pleaded by Sol Ringold, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, who appeared as **amicus curiae** ("friend of the court") in the Roberts case. Ringold explained that by requiring a person to foreswear the "advocacy . . . of . . . revolution" the oath in reality imposed a test of belief as a requirement for public office. Once this test of belief was imposed, Ringold argued, further tests of belief could be added until the party in power had outlawed all other political beliefs.

"The phrase 'free speech' has become shopworn," was Judge Jones' reply, and refused to consider the cases further upon that ground.

The bulk of the argument during the day's hearing was devoted to the main issue raised by Rabbit's attorney, C. T. Hatten. Hatten's contention was that the legislature had no power to add qualifications for holding public office to those already called for in the state constitution. The constitution only requires a candidate for state office to be a citizen of the United States and a qualified voter in the state of Washington. Hatten argued that if the legislature were granted the power to add qualifications, then a party in office could perpetuate itself in power by redrawing the requirements for office. He contended that the Kimball act was a first step in that direction.

Judge Jones ruled out Hatten's plea on the ground that although it might be correct in the case of a state officer provided for in the constitution, the posts of the city officials, such as mayor and councilmen, were created by the legislature, and were therefore not protected by the State Constitution.

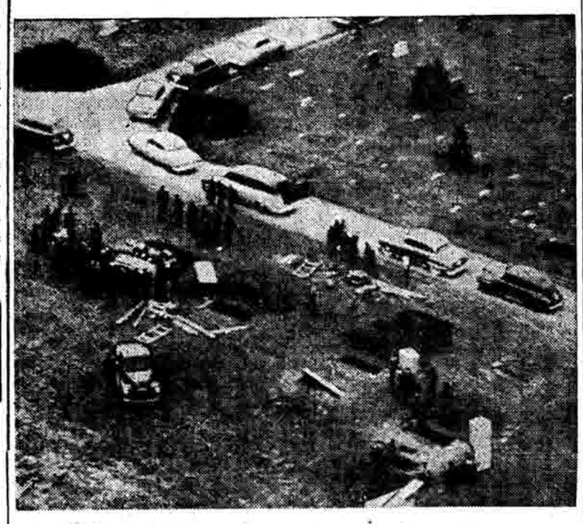
Rabbit has announced that he, too, will appeal his case to the state Supreme Court, and the American Civil Liberties Union will again appear as **amicus curiae.**

The need for united action in fighting the Kimball law was strongly underscored by the joint hearing of the two cases in the same court. However, the Stalinists, who control the Progressive Party, indicated that they will have no unity with the Socialist Workers Party. Thus C. T. Hatten, Rabbit's attorney, insisted throughout that the Rabbit case and the Roberts case were separate and had nothing to do with each other. This statement was printed in the newspapers. In marked contrast was the action of Frederick Post, Roberts' attorney, who solidarized himself with the legal contentions raised by Hatten; and the action of Sol Ringold who spoke about the issue of free speech involved in both cases, even though he was acting formally as a friend of the court only in the Roberts case.

SWP's attitude to Rabbit's suit was stated today by Daniel Roberts. "We welcome his action in refusing to sign the oath. We are glad that there are two cases instead of one. There should have been nineteen cases instead of two, for we believe that every candidate in this election should have refused to sign the oath."

The Socialist Workers Party is not confining the battle to the courts. A campaign to inform the labor movement and other organizations is under way. The suit has already obtained considerable publicity in the newspapers and over radio news broadcasts. Daniel Roberts has spoken before three union groups, and a daily speaking schedule is planned, which will include the rallies for candidates.

Graves for Mine Victims



While one of 119 victims of West Frankfort, Ill., mine explosion is laid to rest (l.) in Benton cemetery, workers rush to prepare graves for others who died in mine disaster. Federal Bureau of Mines inspectors charge that the explosion was due to faulty ventilation equipment, large accumulations of explosive fine coal dust and faulty electrical equipment which provided the spark that touched off the blast. All these conditions were violations of the Federal Safety Code due to negligence of the owners.

L. A. HOUSING PROJECT HALTED BY RENT HOGS

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 30 — The Los Angeles City Council on Dec. 26th voted 8 to 7 to halt the $100,000,000 federally financed housing project, on which the city has already spent $11,000,000.

Ruthlessly pushing aside the expressed demands of organized labor, liberal and minority groups to continue the program, the Council proceeded as if nothing mattered but the profits of the landlords. Two years ago the Council voted unanimously for the program. Since then, the real estate interests have been able to push through Proposition No. 10 which made future public housing virtually impossible by requiring a referendum vote on every individual project. With no effective opposition on the part of the labor movement, the landlords have become bolder with each step, and now they have succeeded in halting a program which was extremely inadequate to begin with.

CRITICAL AREA

Los Angeles has been recognized as a critical housing area since World War II when aircraft production swelled the population, while home building had to give way to defense production. The landlords are now looking ahead to the time when aircraft will again be working full time. They can see that without rent control, and with the housing situation becoming much worse, they will be able to squeeze more rents out of doubled-up families, slum dwellings, and segregated areas.

These developments represent a test of forces between the workers and the landlords which can affect the whole federal housing program. If they can get away with it in Los Angeles, the real estate interests in other cities will feel they can condemn the people to more slums, housing shortages and crowded homes without worrying about a serious fight from labor.

DISCRIMINATION

For the workers, this means much more than a fight to save a housing project, since it is connected with their struggle against race discrimination. An editorial in the Negro newspaper, the California Eagle, on Dec. 13 stated, "The powerful real estate lobby is behind this move to wreck the low-rent housing program. This is the same selfish group that has always supported residential segregation and which even went so far as to propose to amend the Constitution when the Supreme Court forbade further court enforcement of race restrictive covenants. If these projects are abandoned by the city the sites will be sold to private developers and Jim Crow will be the rule in whatever housing is constructed."

The landlords claim they are opposed to the program because it represents "creeping socialism" and not real slum clearance. This is just a lie to cover up their real aims of maintaining high rents. It was shown by Councilman Timberlake, a proponent of the housing program, that these interests do not want any slum clearance. In a statement to the L. A. News of Dec. 13, he said that these same interests who are opposing the housing program succeeded in defeating a proposal to clear sites by government aid, but the development and operation to be entirely by private enterprise.

Chicago

GEORGE CLARKE

Speaking on

"The Approaching International Showdown"

Friday, Jan. 25, 8 PM

734 S. Wabash Avenue

Donation 35c

Social following

Anti-U.S. Feeling Abroad Described by Pacifist

By George Lavan

Four American pacifists — all of whom had served prison terms for their beliefs during World War II — bicycled around Europe last year distributing leaflets that urged people to refuse to bear or make arms and to oppose war preparations by non-violent resistance. Throughout the trip they were able to observe at first hand the attitude of Europeans to U.S. foreign policy and the threat of World War III. This unusual story has been virtually ignored by the American press and for that reason The Militant, although opposed in principle to pacifism as a method to prevent war or combat the capitalist warmongers, arranged to interview David Dellinger, one of the participants.

Mr. Dellinger is an athletically built young man of 36. A printer by trade, he was educated at Yale and Union Theological Seminary. A convinced pacifist since 1933, he served three years in federal prisons during the last war for refusal to register for the draft.

Mr. Dellinger and his three comrades toured Europe as representatives of "Peacemakers," a militant pacifist organization. Upon arrival in France and public declaration of the purpose of their trip they applied for visas for Western Germany and the Soviet Union. The Soviet consulate gave them the runaround and later in Vienna they were finally refused entry into Russia or its satellite territories.

"When we went to the Paris embassy of the West German government," Dellinger related, "and told our reasons for wanting visas, the clerks were greatly startled. They typed up many copies of our applications — which I later learned were for distribution and discussion among themselves — and told us to come back. After a number of visits some of them became quite friendly and would meet us outside for group discussions. We learned — and the acting consul himself later told us openly, because he was quite bitter about it — that though the Bonn government had recently been given its 'independence' in such matters according to the newspapers, in actuality our applications had been vetoed by the U.S. Occupation authorities."

Were the stories of anti-American feeling in Europe exaggerated? "No," replied Mr. Dellinger, "in fact, when we first arrived in Paris friends told us to stick to the brightly lit avenues and not go walking in dark places at night because of the general hostility to Americans. Then all the way through France we found a terrible anti-American feeling — even among people who were very definitely anti-Communist — a feeling that the United States was the country that would start the war. There is no fear that Russia will start the war by overrunning the Continent."

As a protest against their exclusion from Germany by the U.S. military authorities, the four pacifists bicycled to the border at Strasbourg to demonstrate. En route they stopped in every town, distributed their leaflets, posted them on walls and engaged in discussions. Anti-American feeling melted when people discovered they were against the U.S. war program.

In Vienna, after failure to get visas to enter Soviet occupied territory, the four pacifists sneaked through the "iron curtain," which aparently isn't as impenetrable as the newspapers make out. They went to Baden, the headquarters for the Russian Occupation Army. There they illegally distributed leaflets in Russian for several hours on the streets around the barracks. They gave leaflets only to enlisted men of the Red Army and civilians — avoiding officers. Conversation was limited by their scanty knowledge of the Russian language. The attitude of the troops was friendly. "There was no indication of fear or hesitation among the Russian soldiers about taking leaflets or talking with us," Dellinger recalled.

What was the attitude of the powerful French Communist Party toward your group, I asked. "The Communist Party press and officials were unfriendly," Dellinger replied. "This was true also when we spoke to a high official of the Stalinist-led Partisans of Peace. But individual members supported us even when our statements were critical of the Soviet Union. In Strasbourg, for example, some insisted on helping distribute our leaflets. On our last night a group of young Comunists and sympathizers gave us a farewell party."

Reverting to the subject of anti-American feeling in Europe, Mr. Dellinger said: "When the Collier's Magazine war issue came out there was a terrific reaction. People felt that the U.S. had gone mad. Any 'good' that was done by the Marshall Plan has by now been completely destroyed because the Europeans figure it was all part of the preparation for war. As one man expressed it, 'To fatten us up for the slaughter.' Europeans feel they are going to be overrun by armies, to be the battlefield next time and that the United States doesn't give a damn. One Frenchman took us on a tour of his city, showing us the buildings bombed or burnt in the last war. He would point to one after another and say that building was 'liberated' by the Americans."